587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely
[592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were
252 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-
592

•[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time
592 when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The household always constitutes the center of these activities. Male members of the household work together at these jobs. Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

462 592 [476]

By no means does every house have its own plow. Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

241 592 [556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427] although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 602 Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
582 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala
602 group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
● 556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

612 /39 cont./ living is more comfortable. The tendency toward
556 joining the Kapala group can be demonstrated. Integration is stronger there.

612 To be affiliated with a large related group seems to offer only advantages. There is, however, another phenomenon which suggests the opposite. /40/ Members of the Kapala
[166] group appear to move away repeatedly. This fact cannot be discussed, however, until the relationship of the related group to the land has first been described.

The Relationship to the Land

612 The relationship of the related group to the land was
423 characterized as that of a group whose members live together in the same territory and work the land. This characterization will now be elaborated upon. The majority of kampong residents do seem to have land in the kampong where they reside, but a number of them in addition have land in other kampongs.

Some figures will be presented at this point to illustrate the relationship of people to land. The average landownership of Bontoramba residents within their territory amounts to 23 ares of sawah land and 56 ares of dry land per house. In addition to land in Bontoramba, some Bontoramba residents also own land in other kampongs. If one adds these figures to the first, then it appears that the average landownership per house in Bontoramba amounts to 54 ares of sawah land and 69 ares
[162] of dry land. The average number of persons per house is 6.04 (1).

1. Figures concerning land date from 1949. The average number of residents per house that year amounted to 6.04 as against 6.1 in 1948.

423 /40 cont./ Some variations should be introduced into
612 these figures. Broken down by the Kapala, Mangenre, and
556 Rest groups they are:

Kapala group:	77 ares sawah land
	88 ares dry land
Mangenre group:	6 ares sawah land
	66 ares dry land
Rest group:	23 ares sawah land
	22 ares dry land

These figures thus indicate the average per house for these three groups, which consist of 81, 19, and 33 houses respectively (2).

[171]

2. In the Indish Verslag /(Dutch East) Indies Report/ of 1941, Part 2, p. 264, the average area of arable land of the native population for Java and Madura (in 1940) is given as: 0.072 hectare of sawah land and 0.096 hectare of dry land per capita. This is a little less than was found in Bontoramba (0.088 hectare of sawah land and 0.113 hectare of dry land per capita).

/41/ The noticeably low figure for the sawah land in the Mangenre group is not directly explainable. We shall return to this point below.

[592] Not all houses have landowners. In the Kapala group, landowners live in 73 of the 81 houses; in the Mangenre group, in 7 of the 19 houses; and in the Rest group they live in 14 of the 33 houses.

The members of the Kapala group are thus clearly rich in land compared with those of the two other groups. Among

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612 /41 cont./ them landownership is also more regularly distributed over the various houses.

It appeared that the few houses of the Kapala group without landowners were homes of younger people who worked the lands of their parents or an older brother and who received a part of the harvested crop in exchange for this. The Mangenre group and the Rest group include warong owners /shop-keepers/, the bicycle repairman, merchants, and "porters." The last named are men who transport goods for another person to a distant pasar and who receive their wages partly in money and partly in goods. Several of them do not own any land.

[482
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Those who own land outside Bontoramba live scattered over 57 of the total of 133 houses (1); 53 of these 57 are

1. In 54 houses there are people who own only sawah land elsewhere, in 14 those who own only dry land elsewhere. In 11 houses, therefore, there are people who own both sawahs as well as dry land.

occupied by members of the Kapala group, 4 by those of the Rest. According to these figures people of the Mangenre group do not seem to have land anywhere outside Bontoramba. It may well be that these figures are incorrect, probably too low, especially as regards the Mangenre group. The land-tax administration registered the names of landowners in each kampong, and it would thus be necessary to go through all the land-tax registers of South Celebes (there are a few thousand of them) in order to state with certainty that no other land than that reported are held by Bontoramba residents. And it is just among the individuals of the Mangenre group that one might expect to find that they have more land in their homeland of Pangkadjene (2).

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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto. . . .	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua.	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

/43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

The following figures indicate how the sawah land is distributed over the various houses.

The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

The distance from the living quarters to the fields is, generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land between people having land in each other's kampong of residence, with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

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556
612

2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 346 778 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)
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2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

S 691 683 578 828 Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale, and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases. De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst], then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M 212 871 ● 556 Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social mobility in America). The village folks said there were many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for

M 556 465 651 735 567

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

M 471 443 563

M 461 463

C 647 563 152 829

621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]

871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.

131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorung, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.

368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorung, thus there are
six in all.

632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
5105 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531